

MARRIAGE

583 tive, peoples is their love of making gifts; but not less characteristic is their habit of expecting a return. Even the friendliest and most hospitable of transactions are in the nature of a 'square deal', and marriage, whenever it is carried out regularly, is no exception to this rule.

583 Regular marriage is not only a contract between individual man and wife, but, economically, is a transaction between two clans. The woman passes into the ownership of her husband's clan. The communal nature of the transaction is evidenced by the fact that the clans as a whole give and receive the bride-price; and further by the fact that, as we shall see, they appear in united force at the ceremony of payment. The position of the widow is in keeping with the same idea. Having entered her former husband's clan she belongs to it after his death and may automatically become the wife of one of his 'brothers'. I have an instance of a son marrying one of his father's widows, and a fairly old one at that. The woman, however, is not in any sense bound, and in the majority of cases that I have noted her second marriage is with an outsider. In such event the payment for the widow (which is much smaller than that for a maid) goes normally to the former husband's people; though very commonly some additional payment is made to the woman's own people, who are thus paid twice for the one woman. I cannot say whether this additional payment is complimentary, or whether it may have some relation to a *bi-dorebu* paid in the first place.

Transfer of the Bride-price

585 The actual taking over of the bride-price, which occurs some time after the union of husband and wife, is, from the clan point of view, the legalizing of that union. There may be some considerable delay. In one case the bride's people were constantly blowing the *bui* to advertise the fact that they were still awaiting payment and to expedite a settlement by putting the bridegroom's village to shame.

[583] When the *dorebu*—which includes a great quantity of food—has been got together, the supporting clans of the husband's people are invited to the village. Here they will